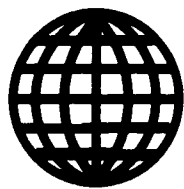
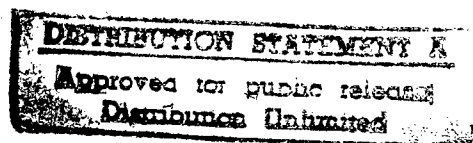


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East Asia

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Fifth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (7th Term) Notice

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 p 3

[Article published in FBIS-EAS-93-112, 14 Jun 93
pp 71-73]

Continue To Renovate and Strongly Develop the Economy and Society in the Rural Areas

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 4-15

[Article by Do Muoi; published in FBIS-EAS-93-112,
14 Jun 93 and FBIS-EAS-93-114, 16 Jun 93]

A Number of Issues of the Resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee

933E0013A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 93 pp 16-20

[Text] The Fifth Plenum of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee (7th Term) debated and made decisions on many very important issues in order to stimulate agricultural expansion (including forestry and pisciculture) and rural area construction (including the lowlands, coastal areas, and mountain areas). The following are some of the most striking issues:

1. An all-encompassing issue of great significance is that of having a socialist orientation in expanding agriculture and building the rural areas:

The party's program mentions the special characteristics of the socialist society that we are building. Gradually implementing those characteristics is a process of manifesting and maintaining a socialist orientation. With respect to agriculture and the rural areas, we must thoroughly understand and implement those contents. The immediate thing is to concentrate on implementing the following well:

The production strength must be freed and expanded constantly, many jobs must be created, the incomes of the peasants must be increased and their material and cultural lives must be improved, poverty must gradually be eliminated, and steps must be taken to enable all families to become prosperous.

At the same time, production relationships must gradually be built and renovated so that they are in accord with the nature and standards of the production forces. The fundamental role of the state economy and cooperative economy in a multi-faceted economy must gradually be manifested, the ownership rights of the laborers

must be manifested, and social fairness, democracy, and solidarity must be implemented in the rural areas.

To have a socialist economy with the characteristics mentioned in the party's program will take a rather long time, and this will require going through many transitional stages and using many intermediary forms. Because there is no historical precedent that we can study, we must gain experience and promptly adjust our understanding and actions in accord with the objective laws and specific historical circumstances of the country so that we do not miss the final target, become impatient, or shackle ourselves with old viewpoints and outdated models.

To expand agriculture and develop the rural areas, we cannot leave everything to private economic elements. It is essential to have the correct leadership of the party and the effective management role of the state. Using various tools such as laws, plans, policies, and economic forces, the state must regulate and intervene effectively in the rural markets in order to exploit the positive effects and block the negative effects of a market mechanism, exploit the strengths and limit the weaknesses of each element, and ensure that economic and social development in agriculture and the rural areas in particular and in the national economy in general have a socialist orientation.

2. Economic elements in expanding the agricultural economy and building the rural areas:

The party's program affirmed that "a multifaceted commodity economy with a socialist orientation must be developed. The state economy must play a guiding role, and the collective economy must be solidified and expanded constantly. The individual economy, which will have a relatively large scope, must gradually follow the path of cooperative work based on the principles of voluntariness, democracy, and mutual profit. Private capital will be allowed to operate in sectors beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood as stipulated by the law. A state capitalist economy must be developed using many forms. The family economy must be greatly expanded...." [Footnote 1] ["Program to Build the Country During the Period of Transition to Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, pages 11, 12]

Through practice, we have affirmed the great role of the multifaceted economy policy and the necessity of continuing to maintain the unity, stability, and long-term nature of that policy in the economy in general and in agriculture and the rural areas in particular.

Recently, along with the tendency to maintain the old-style state and collective economy and state subsidies ideas, there has also been a tendency to relax things. There has been confusion in changing things, and not enough attention has been given to the role of the state and cooperative economies. These two tendencies are both wrong. In the coming period, a better job must be done in implementing the multifaceted economy policy based on the following guidelines:

Regarding the cooperative economy, we must fundamentally renovate the cooperatives based on manifesting the independent economic unit role of the cooperative members and on planning and guiding production and concentrate on developing the various production, business, and service forms that the cooperative member households can't do or that they can't do effectively. There is no conflict between these things. This will enable and help the cooperative members to fully exploit the potential of the independent economic units, create additional jobs for and increase the incomes of the cooperative households, and enable them to coordinate things with the authorities in improving the welfare of society and building the new rural area.

After many years of construction, the cooperative economy has created material bases and a certain social psychology in the rural areas. The development of the rural areas must use cooperative economic forms. Thus, we must make an effort to help, guide, and encourage the cooperatives that were built in the past to change in ways that will be beneficial. In this process, the suggestions must be exploited, and ways suited to the specific conditions of each locality and each sector must be found. Rigid stipulations prohibiting this and that cannot be made. The important thing is to adhere to the principle of "voluntariness, democracy, and mutual profit."

As for those cooperatives that exist in form only and that have carried on renovation many times but that still can't change, the party committee echelons and authorities there must examine things carefully, clarify the reasons, look for a way to deal with this, and allow the peasants to organize new cooperative forms in accord with their needs.

Along with the existing cooperatives, in recent years, many new cooperative economic forms have appeared in the rural areas. Regarding these new cooperative economic forms, studies must be done to review things and learn their good and bad points in order to encourage and guide proper development.

As for the state economy, it must be admitted that at present, there are many state enterprises in the agricultural, forestry, and fishing sectors that are operating at a loss. Because of this, some people want to limit or eliminate these enterprises. But the state economy is an important tool of the state in helping the peasants and other economic elements in the rural areas and getting them to engage in large-scale production in a market mechanism. A number of state models are operating well, and this proves that the state economy in agriculture, forestry, and fishing has the ability to play this role.

Thus, renovation must be carried on in order to effectively develop the state economy in agriculture, forestry, and fishing. The direction of renovation is: Depending on the specific conditions, there must be rational contract forms in order to manifest the independence of the workers, civil servants, member

households, and other households in the locality, make effective use of the capital and assets of the state, and carry out the functions of an industrial-services center, especially processing industries, a scientific-technical center, and a cultural-social center for the economic elements and people in the locality.

At the same time, the responsibilities of the state industrial, commercial, and service enterprises with respect to agriculture and the rural areas must be clearly defined. A major shortcoming is that the state economic sectors in many places have abandoned the rural area battlefield, ignored the worker-peasant alliance, and allowed private businessmen to control the markets and oppress the peasants as in the past. State industrial, commercial, and service enterprises must support agriculture and the rural areas and build a suitable network and operating mechanism so that, together with the other elements, they can better satisfy agricultural production, processing, and consumption needs and the daily needs of the peasants, contribute to stabilizing the markets, and serve as the activists in industrializing agriculture and developing the rural areas.

Manifesting the independent economic unit role of the peasant households in the past period has been a decisive factor that has brought about great changes in agricultural production and the rural areas. The policy of renovating and expanding the state and collective economies does not mean that we underestimate the great potential and important long-term position of the family economy. Rather, this is aimed at exploiting the role of the family economy more fully. We regard the family economy as holding an important, long-term position. It must be helped to grow and guided so that it will gradually participate voluntarily with the cooperative economic forms. Private businessmen must be encouraged to invest more in order to expand agriculture and the rural economy, and foreign investors must be welcomed so that they invest in joint ventures aimed at expanding agriculture and developing Vietnam's rural areas. We affirm that the economic elements and all types of peasant households are equal before the law and that their legal interests must be protected.

Distinguishing the various household economic forms is not aimed at providing different treatment. Instead, this is necessary in order to give attention to the different characteristics of each type of family economic form, to have policies to satisfy the development needs of each type, and to have a basis for analyzing things and predicting changes in the economy and rural society so that we can lead agriculture and the rural areas and help them to develop properly.

3. The land problem:

The program of the party and the constitution have affirmed that "the arable land belongs to all the people."

No single organization or individual has separate ownership rights to the arable land in Vietnam, and no historical reason can be cited to demand such ownership rights.

In order to ensure that the arable land has a specific master and is used effectively, to ensure social fairness and stability, and to stimulate the process of reassigning the labor based on having those who are skilled in a particular field work in that field, we advocate turning over fields to peasants on a long-term basis. Peasants will have the right to pass on, rent out, transfer, cede, and mortgage the land according to the specific stipulations of the law. The above rights are rather broad and should be sufficient to encourage peasants to invest in expanding business activities and make effective use of the land. But these are not ownership rights, because the state has the right to make the final decision regarding land. If the user does not fulfill his obligations or violates the law, the state can take back the land.

As for the length of time that the land is assigned, the period must be long enough, and the land must be classified depending on whether it will be used to grow short-term crops or perennial plants. The National Assembly will make the decision on the specific time period. At the end of that period, if the user needs the land and has adequate conditions, he will be allowed to continue using the land.

Transferring land must be done in accord with the laws. This must be inspected and approved by the authorities with jurisdiction. Those who want to transfer land should not be forced to transfer the land to the state, because that will hinder the development of direct trade between peasants, give rise to an unnecessary intermediary, and easily produce negative phenomena.

The issue of field limits must be handled in accord with the guiding ideas mentioned in the resolution of the Second Plenum of the CPV Central Committee (7th Term): "The conditions for allowing land use rights to be transferred must be clearly stipulated, and steps must be taken to prevent the situation in which those who earn their living from agriculture do not have land while people who purchase land use rights do not do so in order to produce but to sell or lease the land. The maximum amount of land that can be concentrated in the hands of one household must be stipulated based on the region and type of land." The National Assembly has stipulated concrete limits in the arable land law. The government must guide the implementation of this in accord with the special characteristics of each region and have suitable solutions to deal with those who are farming land above the limits.

As for bare hills and reclaimed land in coastal areas for use in agricultural, forestry, and fishing production activities, at present, in order to encourage investment to exploit the land, there is no need to set time limits. At the same time, the government must conduct studies in

order to have rational policies and stipulations and satisfy the immediate and long-term requirements.

Today, there are some peasants who do not have any land. The party committee echelons and local authorities must carefully investigate each case. If they really need land to engage in production, land should be allocated to them from the reserve land fund and from arable land recovered from illegal occupation of the land. Or steps can be taken to enable them to go live and work in new economic zones.

As for the reserve land fund for the villages, depending on the specific needs stipulated by the localities, this land fund may or may not be used. If it is, it must not exceed 5 percent of the village's total land fund, and it must be used in accord with the land law and the stipulations and guidelines of the government.

4. The agricultural production allocation and the market problem:

It is true that in a commodity economy, markets are the most important basis for orienting the development of production. In order to ensure economic results, product plans must start from market demand. But this does not mean that market research should not be done or that forecasts should not be made in order to formulate plans and orient the production allocation, particularly for the important regions and products. Furthermore, this is essential in order to have a basis for setting investment and scientific and technical priorities to support production, for arranging the network of industrial processing and service enterprises, and so on. The laws of an agricultural commodity market, which change frequently, must be understood. Based on this, the main direction of development must be grasped in order to select a crop growing and animal husbandry allocation and find ways to deal with unexpected changes in order to reduce the risk, limit losses, and expand commercial production in a stable manner. It is predicted that domestic and international demand for a number of our country's principal types of agricultural production such as rice and aquatic products will remain strong and stable for many years. As for a number of other types of products such as coffee, rubber, and tea, although demand may fluctuate in each stage, there shouldn't be any fundamental change. Thus, there is a basis for and it is essential to set guidelines and make plans for developing these types of crops. Naturally, there is no need to stipulate the quantitative norms in too much detail. And the implementation process must depend on the specific situation, with flexibility to make adjustments.

Agricultural production markets are a very important and pressing and also very complex problem. The basic guideline for solving the market problem is to coordinate increasing the buying power of domestic markets with actively expanding foreign markets and stepping up exports along with replacing imports. In order to expand domestic markets, investments in expanding agriculture, forestry, fishing, the construction industry, and services

must be expanded in all respects. More jobs must be created, incomes must be increased, and the buying power of society must be increased. In order to expand foreign markets, the application of science and technology and new techniques must be promoted, particularly new varieties and processing techniques. The quality and competitive strength of the products must be increased, and maintaining traditional markets must be coordinated with opening new markets.

Efforts must be concentrated on obtaining markets and market information for the peasants, expanding commercial operations to help the peasants step up commodity distribution, formulating policies to further stimulate the export of agricultural products, formulating a correct foreign exchange rate policy, reducing export duties on agricultural goods, protecting domestic agricultural production and domestic markets, and implementing price subsidies for a number of essential agricultural products.

Solving the market problem requires a coordinated effort by all the sectors and echelons from the central echelon to the primary level, particularly the macrocosmic management organizations. This also requires dynamism and creativity on the part of the producers and businessmen.

5. Industrialization and the expansion of rural industry:

Today, the need to industrialize agriculture in order to increase the value of agricultural commodities, increase labor productivity, and reassign social labor in the rural areas of our country is very urgent. Unless industrialization is stepped up, agriculture and the rural areas will not be able to continue developing quickly and effectively. Almost all of our agricultural exports are raw, cheap products, but we must import large quantities of technical materials and industrial commodities. There is a shortage of jobs, revenues are being lost, we are dependent on the outside, and we are suffering losses because of the price differential that benefits the industrialized countries. At the same time, there are many production capabilities and sources of strength that have not been mobilized to promote agricultural and rural area industrialization.

Many of the existing industrial installations, including the agricultural products processing industries, chemical and fertilizer industries, machine industries, and industries that produce consumer goods, have not fully mobilized the production capacity or oriented production to support agriculture and the rural areas effectively. Many rural areas have electricity, but they use it mainly for lighting. If we set aside part of the state's capital to aid intensive investment, renovate a number of essential installations, and implement policies to encourage the expansion of commercial production and afford suitable protection for domestic production, we should be able to increase industrial production capabilities to provide good support to agriculture in a relatively short period of time.

Many traditional sectors and occupations in the rural areas are being restored and expanded in many places in the country. This shows that there is much potential that can be exploited better in order to reassign the laborers and change the rural economic structure in a progressive way. In the coming period, these examples must be examined and reviewed in order to obtain guidance and help from the state and enable this to spread to many other places.

Naturally, simply using the existing production capabilities and expanding the small industry and handicrafts sectors is not enough. In the coming period, the construction of a number of essential industrial installations must be promoted, and technology and techniques must be modernized. The main difficulty is capital. But the sources of capital and strengths of the state (which are now being wasted or which are not being mobilized) are not small. With rational accumulation and consumption policies and policies to mobilize investment savings in coordination with attracting foreign capital using a variety of forms, we can step up the industrialization and modernization process.

Along with expanding foreign relations and cooperative activities with other countries, we can obtain capital, acquire the technical advances, promote competition, and expand the markets in order to expand rural industries and industries to support agriculture. We must quickly and actively strive to make effective use of these capabilities.

6. The motive force for agricultural and rural area development in the new stage:

Experience shows that every time the party puts forth lines and policies that are in accord with the laws and aspirations of the people and that satisfy the ardent hopes of the people, this creates a great revolutionary motive force that brings powerful changes to the movements. The key problem in creating a motive force is to have correct positions and policies that will benefit the people.

All of the major positions and policies mentioned in this central committee resolution on confirming the long-term land use rights of the peasants, setting a direction for the expansion of the economic elements, promoting industrialization and the expansion of industry and services in the rural areas, stepping up the application of science and technology, particularly biological technology, promoting the construction of the new rural areas, raising the intellectual standards of the people, training talented people, manifesting democracy in the rural areas, and so on are aimed at satisfying the aspirations of and benefiting the people and country and tying individual interests to collective and social interests and immediate interests to long-term interests.

Implementing the policies and measures mentioned in the resolution in a synchronized manner is aimed at bringing about integrated results to expand production, improve the material and spiritual lives of the peasants,

and create the conditions and a motive force to expand agriculture and develop the rural areas in the new stage.

The important thing is that these policies must soon be concretized and codified by the state to form a system of policies and laws, and they must be implemented effectively. The following policies are of great importance:

A suitable portion of the budget must be set aside and combined with other sources of capital to increase the level of investment in building economic and social infrastructural bases in the rural areas.

The credit sources of the state and people must be exploited and expanded, and conditions must be created to increase the percentage of peasant households that can borrow capital for production, with priority given to the poor households, social policy targets, and difficult areas.

The price of electricity and water conservancy fees must be recalculated, and unreasonable expenses must be eliminated.

The agricultural tax must be reduced or waived for a number of areas and a number of priority targets.

Domestic production must be protected, a number of primary agricultural products must be subsidized, and export duties on agricultural products must be waived or reduced in order to promote product distribution for the peasants.

The needs and aspirations of the peasants are very great, but it must also be realized that the economy in general is encountering many difficulties. The budget is limited, and little domestic capital has been mobilized. Thus, only by coordinating the efforts of the state with the efforts of the people and various-echelon sectors will it be possible to gradually overcome the difficulties.

Implementing the resolution of this central committee plenum will create a motive force to stimulate the expansion of agriculture and the construction of the rural areas and make an important contribution to the general renovation movement of the country.

Creating a New Motive Force To Expand People's Forestry

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 21-25

[Article by Nguyen Quang Ha; not translated]

Vietnamese Agriculture, Forestry, and Pisciculture, Potential and Outlook

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 26-29

[Article by Nguyen Sinh Cuc; not translated]

Reality-Experiences

Son La: There are Still Many Difficulties But the Way Is Clear

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 30-33

[Article by Do Van An; not translated]

Song Be Changes the Economic Structure and Gives Attention to Industrial Development

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 34-36, 40

[Article by Nguyen Minh Triet; not translated]

Ha Tinh on the Path To Expanding Agriculture and Building the Rural Areas

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 37-40

[Article by Tran Quoc Thai; not translated]

Renovate the Activities of the People's Organ of Control

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 41-43

[Article by Le Thanh Dao; not translated]

Research-Exchange of Opinions

What Are Human rights? Who Is Violating Human Rights?

933E0013B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 93 pp 44-47

[Article by Anh Tho]

[Text] The struggle by the world community for human rights has formed common and unified viewpoints and standards concerning human rights. These common standards are reflected in the United Nations Charter (1945) and primarily in the Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1976), and the Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1976). Vietnam joined these two conventions in 1982. The members of these conventions have an obligation to implement the general criteria on human rights. These general standards represent the common aspirations of all peoples, which include a desire for self-affirmation and acceptance by the international community and a desire to live in peace with independence, freedom, and equality. These general standards are a product of history and the present age.

However, in implementing these general standards, the question that has arisen is: How should those general standards be viewed and applied to the actual situation in each country? There are some rather large differences.

A number of Western countries say that these general standards originate from the natural instinctual needs of people. Therefore, those are "universal" values that "transcend society." They are values for all of mankind. Based on this, they say that human rights are a blend of the basic needs of man in general and that every country must respect these rights.

This concept of human rights is a very abstract, unreal, and general concept. They have simply taken over the concept of human rights from the 17th and 18th centuries, when for the first time in human history, the bourgeoisie systematically raised the issue of human rights and eliminated the dictatorship of the feudal aristocracy by raising its human rights banner. But major thinkers of the bourgeois revolution at that time conceived of human rights in a very abstract way. They said that human rights were "innate rights" and that they were universal and eternal. Starting from that viewpoint, in the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man, Article 2 states: "The goal of all political organizations is to protect the eternal natural rights of man, which are freedom, safety, property, and freedom from oppression." But the bourgeoisie maintained these rights only for its own class. Of these, the most basic right was the right to monopolize the production materials and the freedom to exploit the surplus value of the laborers. Thus, from the very beginning, through real actions—certainly not through the words written in the declaration—the bourgeoisie rejected the "natural," "innate," and "universal" nature of human rights.

Furthermore, the human rights concept of the bourgeoisie at that time was based on positions of the petty bourgeoisie. Individual rights were viewed as supreme. The interests of man were not placed within the context of a specific society. Individuals were regarded as independent subjects with absolute freedom. The English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) was the first major thinker to lay a foundation for the human rights concepts of the 17th and 18th centuries. Locke said that the goal of government was to protect the "natural rights" of man granted to man by "natural law." From that, he formed a theory on freedom and bourgeois democracy, which created an ideological precondition for the English bourgeois revolution, which influenced the American and French bourgeois revolutions, and which had an effect throughout Europe. These theories and Locke's concept of a separation of powers were later inherited and expanded on by Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). According to Locke, man was born and existed prior to society. Freedom is a natural and innate characteristic of man. Society and the state came into being later, with their task being to protect the freedom of man. This concept, which holds that the individual and individual freedoms are absolute, greatly influenced the European-American bourgeois revolutionary process and provided a foundation for the human rights concepts that exist in the West today.

Today, many Western politicians still emphasize the political and individual freedoms of citizens. They slight and even reject the economic and cultural and social rights of individuals. According to this view, individual rights are separate from obligations to the collective or to society. Furthermore, in the sphere of individual rights, they give attention only to the minority who hold "different political views," because according to them, those who have "different political views" fully represent the right of individual freedom. But they refuse to understand or they ignore the key point, which is that these individual freedoms can harm the individual freedoms of other people and damage social rights and order. This concept of freedom has been strongly criticized even by a number of modern European and American thinkers. A professor at Columbia University in the United States wrote that "individualism has broken American society into pieces. It seems as if Americans are living in a jungle where the strong devour the weak. The American futurist Alvin Toffler recognizes that individualism is generating fear in American society about the corrupt way of life, the lack of human feelings, the collapse of family values, and the insane violence and racial discrimination. How can there be human rights in such a society!

Clearly, a concept of human rights based on making individual freedom absolute is not suitable for modern society, an organized and controlled society with order, in which individual freedoms are closely tied to social responsibilities and obligations.

Locke's views on man are contrary to the laws of dialectical materialism. It's true that man came into being before society, but before society was organized, man was not really "man." The term "con nguoi" [man] includes two separate faculties: "con" refers to the biological faculty. "Nguoi" is the faculty that has a close relationship to society and that originates from society and the collective. Without society, there cannot be "man" in this sense. Thinking is the special characteristic of man, and the thoughts of man depend on social realities. Thus, "man is a blend of social relationships." Without the biological characteristics, the social characteristics of man can't survive. However, in the final analysis, man is a social creature. Because the position of man in production relationships is decisive, the production relationship is the most basic social relationship. This is what determines the other social relationships. Stated another way, man is concrete and does not exist outside society. Everyone lives within a certain social system and with certain concrete historical conditions. Thus, human rights are always a social category, and they always depend on the historical conditions of society. People exist because they struggle together and have joined together to form a society. As United Nations Secretary General Butrus-Ghali said recently: Human rights are the flesh and blood of mankind. They cannot be reconciled with individualism or egoism, and the rights of the individual cannot be separated from the rights of the collective. Conversely, satisfying the need for human rights will encourage the drive and creativity

of man in building, renovating, and developing society. Human rights refer to a unity between individual and collective interests and between rights and obligations. This is a blending of economic, political, cultural, social, and religious rights. No particular right can be separated from the others in order to give a biased explanation concerning human rights, such as some of the arguments that a number of Western politicians have made recently at international human rights forums. In the final analysis, implementing human rights depends on the economic, political, social, cultural, and religious conditions of each country and is the internal affair of each country.

Today, science and technology have brought the world economy to a peak never reached before. Mankind has never been as prosperous as today. But what is very ironic is that for the people in the developing countries, the right to develop is still the most basic human right. The right to develop is a prerequisite for ensuring the right to life not only of each person but also of all nations in the world. This is a pressing need and the leading human rights standard for the great majority of countries in the world community. Thus, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, which is one of the documents on human rights having the nature of international law, states in Article 1: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. Starting from this right, all peoples are free to decide their own political system and are free to develop economically, socially, and culturally." Article 2 states that "in no case is it permitted to deprive a people of their means of survival."

Thus, the right to develop supplements and perfects human rights and is an important step forward with respect to the theory of human rights. The simplest reason is that the right to develop is a human need of the present age. The "right to develop" is a general, macrocosmic human right that has greater value and greater significance and that is more progressive than the "right to life," which was first mentioned more than two centuries ago. As citizens of Vietnam, we all know that President Ho Chi Minh included the following immortal phrase from the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 in our Declaration of Independence: "Among those rights are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." [Footnote 1] [Ho Chi Minh, "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, 1984, volume 4, page 1] Here, the "right to life" is regarded as one of the most important human rights and as the banner raised by the bourgeoisie to oppose feudal oppression. It was John Locke who laid the foundation for this. He said that "the right to life," together with the "right to liberty" and the "right of private ownership" were the three ownership rights of man. Later on, Rousseau and Diderot stressed that the "right of private ownership" was the condition for ensuring the "right to life." Thus, at that time, for the rising bourgeois class, the "right to life" was very important and urgent. But today, capitalism has developed to the modern stage, and capitalist society has been solidified and gone far beyond the minimum conditions of the "right to life." For the bourgeois class

today, the "right to life" no longer has the vital significance that it once did. Perhaps this is the reason why the developed countries do not fully see the meaning of the equation: the right to life equals the right to develop of the developing countries.

A number of Western politicians stress only political freedom and individual liberty but ignore or even reject the formula: "the right to life" equals the right to develop the economic, cultural, and social interests that the great majority of mankind is demanding. Reality shows that sluggish development is limiting and even negating human rights. Without development, where can people obtain the material and spiritual products to satisfy their most basic needs, such as the need for food, clothing, medicines, and means of transportation? And that is without mentioning the higher needs that modern life now demands. This is one of the reasons for the poor situation in implementing human rights in many developing countries.

Ignoring all of these points, many Western politicians have constantly attacked developing countries for violating human rights. These people have failed to see or have intentionally overlooked the fact that the present development of the developed world has a cause-and-effect relationship to the present sluggish state of development of the developing world. Isn't it the case that part of the original accumulation of capitalism came from boldly seizing colonies? After capitalism turned into imperialism, isn't it true that the developed capitalist countries regarded the colonies as the most important sites for exporting capital and as markets for selling their commodities?

Today, the North-South relationship has changed greatly, because the colonial system has been eliminated and replaced by independent, sovereign countries. But because there has been no fundamental change in the international economic order, the economic appearance of the developing countries remains basically unchanged. The gap in the level of development between the North and the South is still one of the great paradoxes of mankind. In 1987, the per capita income of the developed countries was \$14,580. But in the developing countries, it was only \$565-720, with the country with the lowest per capita income having a per capita income of less than \$200. The per capita income ratio of the developing countries to the developed countries was 1:40 in 1980 and 1:50 in 1990. The capital gap has continued to grow wider. The developed countries have approximately 20 percent of the world's population, but they account for about 70 percent of the gross world income. Conversely, the developing countries, with 80 percent of the world's population, account for only about 20 percent of the gross world income. There are many reasons for the backwardness of the developing world. But we must not forget the historical reasons and the inequality that exists in the world economic order.

At international human rights forums, many Western politicians have overlooked all of the points mentioned

above and simply attacked human rights violations in the developing countries, particularly the developing countries with a socialist system. Occasionally, someone mentions the "right to life" but not that the "right to life" equals the "collective's right to develop." They are concerned only about the "fate" of a small number of elements who have violated the law and who have been prosecuted in accord with the law by sovereign countries. It must also be recognized that a number of developed countries have provided development aid and given a rather large amount of money to aid development. But a number of countries have tied aid to human rights conditions based on their way of looking at things. A typical example of this is the United States. For many years, each time the United States has considered granting most favored nation status to China, it has attached human rights conditions. China and many developing countries have resolutely opposed this. The fact that the United States implemented the "Torixenli" law against Cuba and has continued the embargo against Vietnam (for 18 years after the war ended) shows that the United States, more than any other country, completely rejects the right to develop of the developing countries. At the same time, the United States has continued to give Israel, whose list of human rights violations is very long, approximately \$3-4 billion a year in aid.

The few examples cited above are enough to show that the United States has not only tied development aid to its human rights conditions but that it has also transformed human rights into a political issue. Politicizing the human rights issue is one of the most striking characteristics of Western political democracy today. The most ludicrous thing is that they are trying to politicize the human rights issue, but they constantly talk about the "non-politicization" of the human rights issue. They try to hide behind the phrase "non-politicization" and the wall of "fairness" and "objectivity." Actually, a number of imperialist forces want to use a human rights diplomatic policy in place of the outmoded stratagems. But they have not forgotten the diplomatic policy based on strength, weapons, and the dollar in order to achieve their black objective of imposing their political concepts, values, and system, transforming the social system, and determining the political orientation of countries not in their orbit. Diplomacy is diplomacy. This concerns diplomatic relations. Human rights are human rights. They are rights that people must have. Human rights must not be allowed to be turned into a card in the political game of "peaceful change" following the Cold War. The age of intimidation and political stratagems in the name of human rights should be brought to an end. On the other hand, every intelligent person realizes the painful truth that the racial clashes and rise of racial apartheid are the things that are crushing human rights. But the aspirations and efforts of the world community will solve these problems. The most pressing human right today is: the right to life equals the right to develop of the great majority of the people in the world.

As a country that has suffered much bitterness and misfortune because of being invaded and enslaved by

imperialist forces, Vietnam clearly understands the meaning of the term human rights, and it is doing everything possible to give attention to human rights. We have frequently announced that we will actively participate in international human rights activities and respect and implement the international human rights commitments approved by the world community and signed by Vietnam. But we affirm that the examination of the human rights situation in a country must be based on the international human rights conventions and the common standards recognized by the international community. Above all, this must start from the historical conditions, social system, cultural traditions, and level of development of each country. The model of one country cannot be imposed on another country or serve as the standard for judging another country. In the final analysis, the human rights issue is the internal affair of each country. We do not agree with and resolutely oppose those who want to use the human rights issue to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Use Your Own Identity

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 48-50

[Article by Dang Nghiem Van; not translated]

Investigation

Economic Crimes in our Country in Recent Years

933E0013C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 93 pp 51-53

[Article by Senior Colonel Tran Dao, deputy head of the Economic Police Department, Ministry of Interior]

[Text] In recent years, even though the international and domestic situation has undergone complex changes, in general, security and social order have been maintained. But along with this, many types of crimes such as corruption, smuggling, fraud, theft, and murder continue to pose a serious problem. Some types of crimes have skyrocketed in almost all localities and in the sectors, rural areas, cities, mountain areas, and islands, and they have an international character.

According to still incomplete data, during the period 1989-1992, on the average, more than 100,000 crimes were committed each year (in which economic crimes accounted for 20.67 percent and crimes affecting security and social order accounted for 79.33 percent), and assets worth approximately 180 billion dong were lost.

The motive force of the market mechanism is profits and superior profits. Money is the "lubricant" for production, business, and services in a market mechanism. The way to make superior profits easily is to engage in smuggling, trade contraband goods, evade paying taxes, produce and sell bogus goods, and commit fraud. More and more cases of smuggling, trafficking in drugs, and producing and selling bogus goods have been discovered.

In 1992, the number of such cases more than doubled as compared with 1991, and during the first five months of 1993, the number of cases has more than doubled as compared with the first six months of 1992. What is dangerous is that there have been cases of people buying and selling explosives. In order to avoid detection and obtain the permits necessary to conceal their illegal activities, the criminals often pay bribes and use intermediaries to take and receive the bribes. In 1991, this phenomenon doubled as compared with 1990. Crimes such as corruption, theft of socialist property, and a lack of a spirit of responsibility have caused serious damage and continue to occur because of the loopholes in the mechanisms and policies. In 1991, crimes that have made use of the loopholes in the mechanisms and intentional violations of the state's economic management regulations doubled as compared with 1990. Cases of smuggling, trading in contraband goods, and international fraud have increased, too.

There are also many loopholes in commodity and currency circulation. Because of this, criminals have operated along the transport routes and robbed a number of private gold shops. In 1992, the number of robberies increased 11.9 percent as compared with 1991.

The criminals are wealthy, they spend lavishly, and they have attracted and bribed a number of weak people. Prostitution, opium addiction, smuggling, and the use of narcotics is increasing. When these people run out of money, they steal property, kill people, sell women, commit fraud, and so on. This is the vicious circle that is causing great problems for society.

During the period 1989-1992, an average of 40,000 economic crimes were discovered each year. Approximately 130 billion dong worth of property belonging to the state and people was lost. Even though the number of cases of corruption accounts for only 11.2 percent of the total number of economic crimes discovered each year, the losses stemming from corruption accounted for an average of almost 70 percent. Smuggling is carried on on a national scale in many types of commercial activities and in every economic element. This is even a problem in a number of administrative and social organizations, mass organizations, the military, and even a number of forces that are directly participating in the struggle against smuggling. Almost all of the major and well-organized smuggling operations involve the direct participation of a number of people in state organizations, or these people provide protection to private businessmen. They rely on state means, including the roads, railroads, river, coastal, and air routes, and domestic and international posts and telecommunications.

Reality shows that in places where economic activities are bustling and there is much state property but where the necessary control and supervision of the organizations with jurisdiction is lacking, crimes such as corruption, intentional violations of the law, fraud, and so on occur frequently. Not only bad elements in society but also many state enterprises make use of the loopholes in

the mechanism to steal state capital. As we all known, to date, there are still quite a few economic units that have failed to pay their debts because of suffering losses. Or other organizations have stolen money from them and so they can't repay the loans.

The positive aspect of the market mechanism and "open door" policy is that this will enable organizations, corporations, and enterprises in Vietnam to sign production and commercial contracts with foreign organizations, corporations, and enterprises and expand domestic and foreign markets. But the negative aspect is that this has generated an increase in a number of types of economic crimes. There have been many cases of fraud, smuggling, and international trafficking in contraband goods and narcotics in the cooperative investment, credit, and service spheres. Many people have used the travel and excursion routes to engage in smuggling and fraud. The market mechanism has commercialized various social spheres such as public health, education, and culture and corrupted many cadres in these spheres.

The efforts by the forces concerned to prevent and oppose such things have blocked many major crimes, prevented targets from promptly erecting barriers, promptly discovered and opposed major cases of corruption and smuggling, and prevented robberies in a number of areas and along various communications routes. At the same time, the targets in a number of previously unsolved cases have been identified. The important thing is that through struggle, the loopholes in management and the conditions leading to and the causes of crime have been promptly discovered, social measures have been proposed to overcome and prevent crimes, and many lessons have been learned with respect to the successes and failures in preventing and opposing crime.

Crime has deep economic and social roots. Social evils and the environment are the conditions that lead to corruption and crime. Today, looking at our management mechanisms and policies, we can see that there are still many loopholes and a lack of synchronization between the economy and society in the renovation process.

People in the sectors and localities do not have a good understanding of the policies and measures, and they have not implemented them well. Many of the leading people and those responsible for controlling and handling things lack a lofty spirit of individual responsibility. Decision 217 of the Council of Ministers (now the government) has given the directors the power to make decisions on assets. But that power can easily lead to corruption and negative phenomena unless there is a mechanism to monitor and control things closely. People do not have the ability to use their powers, and that can lead to negative phenomena. Of the 4,584 state enterprises that are operating at a loss, 2,630 (more than 57 percent) of those enterprises are in that state because the directors do not have managerial knowledge or capabilities. Of these, 20 percent of the directors do not have

management diplomas, and they do not understand the laws or the commercial tasks. Of those who committed economic crimes in 1992, 60 percent were cadres, workers, and civil servants, and of these, half were party members. There is laxness in investigating corrupt cadres. There have been cases of evasion and cases in which party committee echelons have interfered in the prosecution work of the judicial organizations that were handling cases of cadre corruption.

The implementation of socialist law has not achieved much in formulating, supplementing, revising, spreading propaganda about, and implementing the legal documents. We have been slow in formulating, supplementing, and revising legal documents, particularly those having to do with multifaceted economic policies, exports and imports, and noncommercial goods and gifts. Spreading propaganda about the laws has not been carried on widely in society and inspections have not been carried on regularly, particularly checks on the inspectors. The masses are not sympathetic, because the number of cases actually brought to trial is low (about 10 percent). Ordinarily, things are not strict because of the obstacles raised or because things are concealed. This has had a bad effect on discovering and investigating things and made it difficult to prevent such things. Because of this, the masses have lost confidence, and it has become difficult to launch them in a struggle.

The material conditions are lacking and there is a shortage of occupational means and money for prevention and struggle work. At the same time, the smugglers and those who engage in corruption, who make bogus goods, and who steal have better means of information, better technical means, and better means of communications. As crime and other negative phenomena continue to occur, with the small amount of money available, all we can do is put up with the lack of means.

There are many causes of economic crime. Thus, to prevent such crime, we must implement economic, administrative, and legal measures in a synchronized way at all the echelons and in all the sectors and mass organizations with the idea of preventing crime on the spot, at the bases, and from within. But when a crime or other negative action is committed, this must be opposed promptly and resolutely. The loopholes in economic and social management must be promptly discovered in order to reorganize things and prevent crime.

Above all, the system of social management mechanisms must continue to be renovated and strengthened, and this must be synchronized with renovating the economy in a market mechanism. The experiences of many developed countries in the world show that along with raising the level of economic growth, there are many serious social problems that must be dealt with. In renovating things, it is essential to ensure synchronization between the economy and society. Economic growth must be tied to social progress and fairness, to cultural, educational, and public health development, and to environmental protection.

The policies must be supplemented and revised in accord with a market economy. When entrusting powers to those with responsibility, there must be a mechanism to stipulate the management capabilities, obligations, and responsibilities of those people. As mentioned above, more than 57 percent of the directors of the 4,584 state units that are operating at a loss lack managerial capabilities. Renovating the social policies in a synchronized manner will help prevent commercialization in many spheres and actively contribute to preventing crime.

Second, there must be people who will implement the policy mechanisms correctly and resolutely.

The leading people in the sectors, localities, units, mass organizations, and social organizations have the most important role. From the ministries to the production units, businesses, localities, and village and subward installations, if there are synchronized measures and the leading people guide things in accord with the policies and laws, many negative phenomena will be prevented. If the state organizations place themselves within the framework of the law and mobilize the masses to actively participate in struggling against and supervising things, even if there are loopholes in the mechanism and the criminals are very clever, it will be difficult for them to commit crimes. And even if they do commit crimes, they will soon be discovered, blocked, and struggled against by the organizations. To achieve this, naturally, those at the head of the organizations and units must be intelligent, have the ability to organize and implement things and adapt to renovation, understand and use their powers correctly, find the causes in order to implement measures to overcome the negative phenomena, and predict the negative tendencies that might arise in order to prevent them from arising.

Third, the legal system must be strengthened, revised, and rebuilt in order to strictly implement the law-governed state mechanism. In drafting legal documents, particularly in systematizing the policies of the party, things must be done in a timely manner in accord with the laws. Once a legal document has been promulgated, there must be suitable ways to popularize and disseminate it among the people so that each person will adhere to it strictly. Those who head the organizations and units must set an example in carrying out the laws and regularly check to see that the laws are being obeyed. Anyone who violates the law must be dealt with resolutely and fairly in accord with the law.

Fourth, control and inspection work must be stepped up.

Many of the major cases that have occurred show that if control and inspection work is carried on regularly, such cases can be discovered and blocked early on, and their effects can be limited. When serious cases occur, it's usually true that one of the most important reasons is that the person in charge there failed to carry on control activities. The role of the control and inspection forces must be manifested, and ranks of good-quality and

honest control cadres must be built. At the same time, there must be a mechanism to control the inspectors, and there must be good coordination between control and inspection work and other activities. In controlling things, the good people who do a good job must be rewarded promptly, and those who commit crimes must be dealt with resolutely.

Fighting crime is the responsibility not only of the organizations responsible for upholding the law but also of the economic organizations and units, managers, producers, and businessmen. This is also a requirement for each citizen. The struggle against crime is a struggle against those who engage in illegal activities and break the law so that those who are trying to make a living honestly can manifest their dynamism and creativity in production and business, so that the economic organizations can carry on production and commercial activities in favorable conditions, and so that the country will have more and more excellent producers and businessmen to ensure that our society becomes more and more stable and develops.

The Journal and Readers, Readers and the Journal

Conference of Readers and Contributors in Hue
00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 54-56

[Article not translated]

The World: Issues and Events

Asia and the Pacific—A Major Orientation in Our State's Foreign Policy
933E0013D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 93 pp 57-58

[Article by Vu Khoan, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and vice minister of foreign affairs]

[Text] With the successful visit to New Zealand and Australia by Premier Vo Van Kiet, we have completed a positive and on-going diplomatic campaign aimed at strengthening our relations with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region after having shifted our relations with the Southeast Asian countries to a new stage, normalizing relations with China, strengthening relations with Japan, establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea, strengthening our already close relations with Laos and India, and solidifying our relations with many other Asian countries. It can be said that thanks to the above activities, we have formed an "arc of friendship in the western Pacific" from Northeast Asia to Southeast Asia and all the way to the southern Pacific region.

This is a major success in implementing one of the important guidelines pointed out at the seventh party congress: "We must develop friendly relations with the countries in Southeast Asia and Asia and the Pacific and strive to turn Southeast Asia into a region of peace, friendship, and cooperation." [Footnote 1] ["Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 90]

This guideline shows the resolve of the party and state to create a favorable international environment for the construction and defense of our fatherland, particularly in neighboring zones.

This guideline is also in accord with trends in the region. What are these trends?

Above all there is the growing position of Asia and the Pacific in international politics. There was a time when Asia was the cradle of human civilization. But for the past several centuries, the political and economic center of the world has been Europe. Today, that center is gradually shifting to the Asia-Pacific region. Many people think that the 21st Century will be the century of Asia and the Pacific. By the year 2000, the economies of the east-Asian countries, from Japan to Indonesia, will almost equal that of the United States and be about 80 percent of that of the European Community.

Some of the most populous countries in the world, which have abundant and varied resources and which lie along some of the most important communications routes in the world, are concentrated here. In this region, there are powerful economies, such as that of Japan, and newly industrialized economies such as those of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. There are many countries, such as China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand, that are developing rapidly or that have great potential. While the world economy is in a recession, the economy of Asia and the Pacific is continuing to grow. In 1992, the gross social product grew 6.9 percent (as compared with 0.4 percent for the world as a whole). The Asia-Pacific region also holds an important position in international trade and investment.

As compared with other regions in the world, including Europe, in the Asia-Pacific region, the trend toward peace and stability is growing. After the Second World War, fierce wars were fought here, such as the Korean War and, in particular, the wars in Vietnam and Indochina. Today, now that the Cambodia problem has been solved and a dialogue has started on solving the problems on the Korean peninsula, the possibility of peace and stability here is appearing.

Along with this tendency is the tendency toward greater cooperation. We have witnessed the tendency toward multilevel cooperation, from cooperation throughout the Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC) to sub-zone cooperation such as the formation of Southeast Asia Free Trade Zone (AFTA) and the South Asian Economic

Cooperation Zone (SARC), and the budding of a cooperative mechanism between Chinese-speaking economies and a new cooperative relationship between Vietnam and Laos and ASEAN. This tendency toward regional cooperation is tied to the tendency toward international cooperation. The economies of the countries in the region are closely tied to the world economy.

Thus, our state's policies on Asia and the Pacific are in line with the basic trends in the region. Thanks to this, we have achieved notable results. To summarize things, we can mention the following results:

First, after decades of facing opposition and occasionally even military aggression by many countries in the region for various reasons, for the first time since the birth of our state, we have friendly and cooperative relations, to varying degrees, with all the countries in this region, and this has created a favorable environment for building the country. An environment poisoned by hatred has been replaced by a more wholesome environment.

Second, as a result of the mutual high-level and sector-level visits between our country and other countries in the region, in just a short period of time we have signed tens of different agreements and created a broad legal basis for expanding cooperation in many spheres, including the economic, commercial, scientific and technical, cultural, educational, public health, travel, communications and transportation, and telecommunications spheres. In the conditions of a market economy, this is a very important factor for enabling the enterprises to expand exchanges and cooperate with each other.

Third, we have quickly expanded cooperative relations with the countries in the region. Today, the countries in the Asia-Pacific region account for almost 80 percent of Vietnam's export value and almost 70 percent of total foreign projects and investments in Vietnam. Many countries in the region such as Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and the Republic of Korea have provided official development aid to us or provided technical aid or low-interest credits.

Fourth, the long-standing problems and problems that have arisen just recently between Vietnam and other countries in the region have been brought to the negotiating table. This includes the border and territorial problems and the problems concerning coastal areas and air space. We have reached a settlement on a number of problems with a number of countries. For example,

Vietnam and Malaysia have reached an agreement on cooperative exploitation in disputed areas along the continental shelf.

Fifth, through visits and contacts, we have come to understand many of the economic and social development experiences of other countries in the region, and this has contributed to carrying on renovation in our country.

Finally, but just as important, with an open foreign policy based on the motto of having many forms and moving in many directions on both a worldwide scope and in Asia and the Pacific, we have created a flexible position in order to escape the isolation and conflicts of previous years. For the first time in history, we are gradually participating in regional cooperation by signing the Bali Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and becoming an observer of ASEAN.

Those very encouraging results spring from the successes of the renovation movement and political stability, and they have created favorable conditions for diplomatic activities. These results are related to our party's ability to grasp the trends in the world and region and then point out correct policies along with calmly and alertly handling the very complex problems, with unanimity on the principles and flexibility in implementing things. The above results are also due to the fact that our interests happen to coincide with those of many other countries in the region. All of us want peace, stability, markets, and mutual cooperation in order to develop.

Naturally, the complex international and regional situation means that we can't be simplistic in evaluating the trends or the results achieved. The Asia-Pacific region is not unified but consists of approximately 50 countries with different levels of development, different political and social systems, different historical conditions, and different interests. Within each country and between countries, there are still many conflicts on various political, racial, religious, economic and social, border, territorial, and coastal problems. The calculations and activities of a number of outside countries with respect to this region could lead to many complexities, too.

The improvement in relations between Vietnam and other countries in the region began just recently. There are still many issues between our country and a number of other countries that need to be resolved. And some of these are very complex, such as the border, territorial, and coastal problems.

Turning this favorable start into a long-term and stable process will require much effort based on the guideline already pointed out: strengthening fair and mutually-profitable cooperation through negotiations in order to gradually resolve the conflicts of interest and, from that, benefit our country and the entire region.

Cambodia After the Election

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 59-60

[Article by Vo Thu Phuong; not translated]

From Foreign Publications

The Real Nature of the West's Theory of 'Turning the Lower Class Into the Middle Class'

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 pp 61-62, 60

[Article not translated]

Understanding Concepts

Pragmatism, Existentialism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 7, Jul 93 p 63

[Article not translated]

News of Theoretical Activities

Scientific Debate on Basic Characteristics, Viewpoints, and Principles Regarding the Construction and Operation of Our Country's Political System During the Transition to Socialism

933E0013E Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 93 p 64

[Excerpt] The debate on the above topic was held at the Ho Chi Minh Institute of National Politics on 23 and 24 April 1993. Those participating in the debate included scientists from the Ho Chi Minh Institute of National Politics and the Vietnam Institute of Social Sciences and representatives from TAP CHI CONG SAN, Hanoi University, and a number of other organizations. Associate Professor Nguyen Ngoc Long, MA, the head of Subject KX05-04, gave the opening speech. After that, those attending the debate discussed the following main issues:

1. The special characteristics of our country's political system during the transition to socialism. Many people

said that these special characteristics are clearly manifested by the words: people, nation, political autocracy, transition, and modern. Besides this, this is also manifested by the words: open, change, and lack of a personality cult. Another question that was debated by many people was: "How can democracy in correlation with the class nature and functions of class rule be increased in our country's political system today?"

There were many different viewpoints concerning the transition of the political system. Some said that the transition marks the start of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others said that the transition is not a socialist political system but just has a socialist orientation. And others said that transition into socialism is a special characteristic of the political system in the process of switching from a people's democracy to socialism. Finally, those participating in the debate agreed that transition is a fundamental characteristic of the political system in our country today. This must be understood correctly and studied further in order to clarify the nature of the process of renovating the political system in our country.

2. The principle of maintaining the leadership of the communist party with respect to the political system: Those attending the debate agreed that this is a particularly important principle in organizing, operating, and building the political system. However, the following issues need to be clarified: the leadership of the party with respect to the political system; the relationship between the party and the state within the political system; the specific role and position of the party in the political system; concepts concerning the party in power and the organization of its activities; and so on. Along with clarifying the leadership principles of the party, the organizational and operating principles of the elements in the political system must be studied in greater depth, the operational mechanisms of the political system must be clarified, and the role, positions, and functions of the various organizations in political system must be clearly defined. Besides this, a number of other issues such as democratic centralism and a law-governed state were discussed in depth.

The scientists participating in the debate said that in order to close the gap between theory and practice, along with doing theoretical research, concrete solutions must be found for organizing and building the political system, particularly the state apparatus. [page omitted]

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